COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 15.] *London, Saturday, 16th October*, 1802. [Price 10D

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TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,—I now, agreeably to my promise (p. 399), shall conclude my observations on the proposed new division of Germany, with an endeavour to shew, more fully than I hitherto have done, in what manner, and to what degree, England in particular is concerned in this important question.

I know, my lord, and I shall speak more fully respecting it hereafter, that the prejudice against continental connexions, which was once confined to the mere vulgar, has, of late years, been rising in the world. I know, that the base spirit of trade has grudged the expense of such connexions, and, as an apology for its niggardliness, has pretended that this island stands *in no need of foreign aid* to defend it against the assaults of its constant and powerful enemy. This opinion has, too, been fostered by vanity as well as by selfishness. It is the subject of songs, exhibitions, farces, and poems, without number; it is the great burden of all modern orations, from the stage in Goodman's Fields to the hustings of the county of York. It is little wonder, therefore, that the great mass of the nation does, as yet, remain unalarmed at the dangers, which we have to apprehend from the Emperor's power being annihilated in Germany, or, at least, so far removed from the dominions of France as to leave to the latter the choice of the *place* as well as the *time* when to attack this kingdom with the whole of her mighty force.

To combat this opinion, so dangerous to England, so certain, if it continue to prevail for a few months longer, to produce her ruin and her subjugation, I will, my lord, appeal to the political maxims of those, who, in former as well as latter times, have given their attention to this subject. In the reign of Elizabeth, when the nations of Europe had assumed pretty nearly the relative state in which they were at the commencement of the French Revolution, there were not wanting (as is observed by the author of the Historical Essay on the Ambition and Conquests of France) English politicians, who thought, that the queen did not interfere with sufficient energy in continental affairs. Lambarde (says the same author), a celebrated topographer in those days, asserts, that if Flanders falls into the hands of the queen's enemies, *the trade and manufacture of England will be lost*; and, the well known maxim of Elizabeth's reign was, "*do not suffer the French to extend their dominion to the North Seas.*"—The correspondent of the Earl of Strafford wrote to him thus: "this day we have letters come, that "Gravelines is given up to the French, "which will make open war (meaning be-"tween France and Spain), yet not ease "us. For we are not out of as near a dan-"ger, *that a growing state doth get* HARBOURS "RIGHT AGAINST US."—In the reign of Charles I. (1637) the Count D'Estrades was sent to England to prevail upon Charles to remain neutral, while France and the Prince of Orange attacked the towns on the coast of Flanders. King Charles, upon learning the object of this embassy, and upon hearing the great offers made by the King of France, answered, that he would do all in his power to shew his friendship, "provided it was not prejudicial to his *ho-"nour*, his *interest*, and the *interests of his "kingdom*; and that, if the King of France, "or the States of Holland, *attacked the ma-"ritime towns of Flanders, he would keep his "fleet in the Downs to act in their defence, "and have fifteen thousand men in readiness to "pass over the seas.*"—Howell's Familiar Letters have the following passage: "I be-"lieve these distractions of ours (meaning the grand rebellion) have been one of "the greatest advantages that could befall "France, which, otherwise, never could "have attempted Dunkirk; for England, "*in true reason of state*, had reason to pre-"vent nothing more, *because no one place "could have added more to the naval power "of France.*" What would this writer have said, my lord, had he lived to see an English ministry ordering, and setting the example of, a general illumination, to celebrate a peace, which leaves in the hands of France, not only Dunkirk, but Ostend and

the Scheldt, nay, even Flushing itself, and puts her into uninterrupted possession of a chain of ports, whence, from the top-masts of her ships, she can count the number of vessels lying in our harbours!—Sir William Temple thought, that "any firm conjunc-" tion of France and Holland, either by " confederacy *or the submission of Holland* (which has now taken place) "*would prove* " *the nearest approach that ever was made to* " *our ruin and servitude*," and he doubted, " *whether it were possible, on the conquest of* " *Flanders by France, to defend ourselves in* " *war, either by our own forces, or the alli-* " *ances of our neighbours.*"—You, my lord, have called your peace " *an experiment*;" was the object of it to try, whether Sir William Temple was right or wrong? A few years, perhaps a few months, may decide the question.—The statesmen of the reigns of William and Anne have left us a memorable proof of their persuasion as to the importance of a barrier between France, Flanders, and Holland. The terms of the barrier treaty and of that of Utrecht, are the best possible commentary on those of the treaty of Amiens, with which they form a contrast that strikingly exhibits the degeneracy of English ministers, and but too plainly indicates the decline and the approaching fall of the country they govern. Bolingbroke, who hated the whigs, and who was far from being an enthusiast in enterprizes against the power of France, allows the war of the Spanish succession to have been unavoidable for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and especially *for preventing France and Flanders from being in the same hands.* He considered the want of *greater* security to Flanders and Germany as a solid objection to the peace of Utrecht, though Flanders itself was taken from the house of Bourbon and given to Austria as a safer neighbour to England, and though several of Lewis's conquered towns were given back to Flanders, while several others of them opened their gates for the reception of the garrisons of the Dutch.—From the time that the house of Austria became possessed of Flanders to the French revolution, this possession has ever been regarded as indispensably necessary to the security of England, and upon this maxim all our statesmen have invariably acted. Since the commencement of the French revolution, and even since the French have overrun Flanders, the same opinion has been repeatedly expressed, both in Parliament and out of it; nor has there, to [illegible] that I know of, been one writer hardy enough explicitly to deny the danger to be apprehended from the conquest of Flanders, except the profound Sir Frederick Morton Eden, who, in his defence of the peace, observes, with an equal degree of sagacity and novelty, that, " not-" withstanding all the various changes in " the states on the Continent, Britain has " long *flourished great and free, the dread and* " *envy of them all*;" and who has further informed " an enlightened public," that " history shews the rise of one nation is " not necessarily accompanied with the " downfall of its neighbour; that *the French* " *Republic may possess the Rhine, and yet not* " *annihilate the commerce of the Thames*; and " that *England may yet be free, though Hol-* " *land is in chains.*"—Alas, my lord! it is not the repetition of the threadbare chorus of a vaunting hyperbolical song; it is not assertion upon assertion, conveyed in a strain of flippant antithesis, and totally unsupported by facts or by arguments; it is not a Treasury pamphlet, never read, though circulated gratis, and though so earnestly recommended by those sapient, independent, and impartial reviewers, the Editors of the British Critic; it is not any or all of these, my lord, that will overset the wisdom of a system of policy, invariably pursued by the statesmen of England from the reign of the Tudors to the present day, much less is it by means like these, that we shall be able to defeat the hostile regulations and armaments, which will be directed against us from the coasts of Flanders and of Holland, when Austria is completely removed, not only from the French frontiers, but from all the west of Europe; when other little republics, or states of some sort or other, are placed as a barricado between them; when, in short, the key of the whole German empire is finally and irretrievably lodged in the hands of France.

Being cut off from our natural ally, the house of Austria, it were to be wished that we could look to Prussia, as being the next power, which, from its magnitude and local situation, might afford us an efficacious alliance; but, the truth is, that we have for a long time, from one cause or another, been, with Prussia, upon terms worse than indifferent; and France has availed herself of all our errors and misunderstandings to make a system for Germany, which, in its very origin and essence, prevents cordiality between Hanover and Prussia as well as between England and Prussia. Hanover must be uneasy and sore at being stripped of her own territories by Prussia, and Prussia must

be always fearful, that Hanover will watch for an opportunity to regain them. The feelings entertained by the sovereigns, seem to have been already pretty fully expressed by their respective subjects, on the entry of the Prussian troops into part of the Hanoverian territory allotted to that power.

Besides, Prussia, were she ever so well affected towards this country, will not, when the new plan of partition has been fully executed, have it in her power to render us any prompt or efficacious assistance. For, in addition to the double hold of hope and of fear, which France has in his Prussian Majesty, we must remember, that, by way of superabundant precaution, the honest Talleyrand has taken care to place him "*beyond* "*the reach of contact with France and Ba-* "*tavia*;" that is, in plain English, to interpose between him and the possessions of France and Holland obstacles sufficient to defeat any enterprize, on his part, for preventing, or clogging, the operations of France against England, which is, indeed, the principal object that Buonaparté has in view in every measure that he adopts, whether foreign or domestic. In short, if the consular plan of partition be carried into effect; if his machiavelian system be once completely organized and consolidated, it will be next to an impossibility for England ever again to derive the least degree of support, either directly or indirectly, from Austria or Prussia.

From Russia we *had* much to expect.—Russia is in little danger from the military projects of France, gigantic as those projects may be, while, on the other hand, she might, possibly, though at so great a distance, by acting in conjunction with Austria, or Prussia, again carry her arms to the borders of France. Nor is it the interest of Russia to suffer France to destroy the trade of England, from which she derives so great a profit. It may be said, for the sake of argument, that it is indifferent to Russia, whether France or England purchase her commodities; but, as a writer who supposes this assertion to be made, very truly observes, that, for two reasons the assertion cannot be maintained: *first*, the merchants of Russia cannot trade with France upon the same degree of security as they do with those of Great-Britain: *secondly*, France having retained her conquests on the Rhine, &c. she will not have occasion to purchase from Russia commodities to the extent even which she formerly purchased. The timber and masts, the pitch and the tar, of Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy; the hemp which is produced in great abundance in the conquered departments; the iron of Namur and Liege; this new source of commerce, opened to France by the free navigation of the rivers of which she has now obtained the command, not only lessens her demand for all the principal commodities of Russia, but renders her, in some measure, the rival of that power.

But, my lord, in spite of all these favourable circumstances, we see, that Russia is become the associate, or, more properly speaking, the instrument of France, for the purpose of humbling and crushing Great-Britain. France has been enabled, in consequence of the ignorance and pusillanimity of those, who have lately directed our foreign affairs, to inveigle Russia into measures directly contrary to her interest, but to which, when consolidated into a system, it will be her interest to adhere. In truth, this system will give her new interests, and will operate a total revolution in her politics. It will bind her fast to the French Republic, who will revive and foster her revenge against England by some malignant compact relative to neutral navigation, and who will find room for all her ambition on the side of Hindostan.

Such, my lord, with respect to England, will be the *new balance of power* on the Continent, which the wise-acres affected to discover in "the recent agrandizement of Aus-"tria, Prussia, and Russia." It may well be doubted, whether the former two have derived any real addition of strength from their allotments in Poland and Italy; but, it is certain, that, if Buonaparté be permitted to carry his present schemes into effect, all these powers, however aggrandized, will thereby become only more formidable to each other, France having conceived a plan for placing them all at a distance from herself, and for cutting them off from any alliance or communication with England.

Nor is the contemplated project of France and Russia indifferent to this country in a mere *mercantile* point of view. The *tolls* of the Rhine, exacted at the entrance of every new territory, were very unfavourable to the trade of France, while we enjoyed favours from some of the princes having dominions on the banks of that river. These tolls are twenty-eight in number, from the city of Mentz to Holland. The revenues arising from them were very considerable, and were much more oppressive to France than to Germany, and principally vexatious to her commerce between Alsace and the provinces

of the Upper and Lower Rhine, the free navigation of which river will also greatly injure the trade of England on the Weser, the Elbe, &c. The anxiety of France to do away these tolls will be perceived from the stipulations in her treaties of peace with the princes on the Rhine (See Vol. I. p. 481, &c.); but, she has now precluded the necessity of again having recourse to specific stipulations, on this subject, by one general sweeping mandate, addressed to all whom it may concern, and abolishing, for ever and ever, these shackles on her commerce. "All "the tolls of the Rhine" [in whatever sovereigns' dominions they may be] "shall be "abolished,* without the power of re-esta- "blishment," (Signed) "CH. MAU. TAL- "LEYRAND," emphatically styled "the "honest," a man, my lord, who, in such cases, seldom flinches from his word.

What the result of this abolition of tolls may be is, however, of little importance, compared to the fact, that France, from the beginning of her revolution to this moment, has never, in any one instance, let slip an opportunity of manifesting, that one great use that she means to make of her political power, is, to retrench, if not destroy, the commerce of England. From the savage ravings of Marat and his goary crew down to the cool and malignant speeches of the Consular orators, this object has constantly been the favourite theme. The several sects as well as the several individual tyrants, whether levellers, democrats, or federalists; whether atheists, theophilanthrophists, mahometans, protestants, or catholics; however they may have differed as to any and to all other points, they have all been perfectly of one mind with respect to the necessity and the *justice* of annihilating the commerce of this country; and, if they could succeed in so doing, without endangering the existence of the monarchy, and without bringing poverty and shame on any part of his Majesty's subjects, except those who have clamoured against continental connexions, I, for one, should most sincerely rejoice at their success.

If, by way of reply to this long and gloomy enumeration of dangers, to be apprehended from the consummation of the projects of France in Germany, your lordship should ask me whether we can interpose, by arms, to prevent these dangers, I answer, that we cannot, until the spirit of the nation, petrified by the present soul-less ministry, can once more be re-animated. Can we hope, that, by waiting for a better opportunity, we ever can recover what we have lost and are about to lose? That will every day become more and more desperate. It will require ten times the force to break this settlement of the Empire, than it would to have resisted its introduction with efficacy. Could we have prevented it, then? We could. The Consul would never have ventured to propose this plan, which is intended to fetter our allies forever, if we had still had our arms in our hands. He followed the old maxim of dividing to govern. He made peace on the plan avowed by the convention, in 1795 and 1796, as the first principles of French diplomacy: he made it by separate negotiations and separate treaties. He extorted a peace from Austria (or rather he *obtained* it, some how or other, through the joint aid of Lerbach and Cobenzl), which was, however, not much more than an armed truce, because it left the great, and most essential point to Austria, the settlement of Germany, wholly in suspense; a point likely, above all others, to produce fresh dissensions and quarrels. The argument then was, amongst our jacobinical and ministerial defenders of the peace: "What can you do? Where are "your allies?"—"Mr. Burke himself," said the Master of the Rolls, "observes, "that we can never by our military force "make any considerable impression upon "France, without the co-operation of some "force or other on the Continent. Why, "then, in our present circumstances, should "we continue the contest?" Peace, therefore, was made, and at *such a time*, in *such a tone*, and on *such terms*, that spoke most emphatically to France, that she had nothing more to fear, and to the rest of Europe that it had nothing more to hope, from the exertions of this country, in favour of that established scheme of balanced power, which had so long been the principal guardian of our own independance, and the great source of tranquillity and happiness to the civilized world.

Up to that time, to the very moment of the signature of the fatal treaty of Amiens, Austria showed a readiness and desire to enter on the discussion of the German indemnities; but France procrastinated. Her ascendency was not yet securely fixed, till she had obtained from England, in the conditions of peace and in her conduct throughout the negotiations, a confession of infirmity more convincing to all mankind but

* There is an error in the printing of this passage of the declaration, p. 265, where *received* was inserted instead of *abolished*.

ourselves, than the most direct and abject terms of submission could have been. Up to this disgraceful period, too, Russia, in spite of the *wet blanket* which your lordship threw over the youthful and generous warmth of the new Emperor, manifested a disposition to interfere in favour of the old system against the encroaching ambition of France. This was clearly enough declared to the world in the notes of M. Kalitscheff (see Register, Vol. I. p. 74); and, my lord, it is well known, that, if they had not been discouraged by this country, both Austria and Russia showed dispositions to attempt once more the deliverance of Europe. But no: the statesmen with "*an* "*hereditary disposition to office*," were resolved on peace, popularity, and place, totally disregarding "the time, the tone, and "terms," in which and by which they were obtained. They taught Austria, that she had nothing left but patience under new injuries: they taught Russia, that her ambition to interfere in the affairs of Germany and the south must not look for gratification but through France, and, of course, in necessary subordination to her. For good, this powerful and ardent prince was not allowed to interpose; for evil, he might. It was not till after the 1st of Oct. it was not 'till after the preliminaries of Downing-street, it was not 'till after the triumphal entry of Lauriston, the rejoicing of Mr. Fox, and the Treasury illuminations, that Russia was prevailed on to take part in those disgraceful and fatal negotiations, carried on, under hand, by France, and, at length, when France had got possession of most of our restitutions, promulgated to the world, in open violation of her assurances to Austria, and with every circumstance of affront and indignity towards her and Great-Britain. Whatever, therefore, our ancient ally, Austria, suffers from the unjust and insolent interference, which has been the subject of the letters, with which I have troubled your lordship, whatever Hanover suffers, in whatever degree our own interest, safety and honour, and the happiness and glory of our gracious and beloved Sovereign may suffer from the same cause, is all to be directly ascribed to to the preliminaries of Downing-street, and the subsequent definitive treaty; that treaty, my lord, which has laid the axe to the root of the British monarchy, and of which your lordship, like another EROSTRATUS, wished "to be known to posterity as the author."

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

London, Oct. 10, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

EXTRACTS FROM DEMOSTHENES.

The following Extracts from the Orations delivered by Demosthenes, at the time when the war was breaking out between the Olynthians and Philip, are so applicable to the present juncture, and so descriptive of the character and conduct of our enemy as well as of our own character and conduct, that we cannot refrain from submitting them to the perusal of our readers, who will, doubtless, remember the fate of the Athenians.

In many instances (Athenians!) have the gods, in my opinion, manifestly declared their favour to this state: nor is it least observable in this present juncture. For that an enemy should arise against Philip, on the very confines of his kingdom, of no inconsiderable power, and, what is of most importance, so determined upon the war, that they consider any accommodation with him, first, as insidious, next, as the downfal of their country: this seems no less than the gracious interposition of Heaven itself. It must, therefore, be our care (Athenians!) that we ourselves may not frustrate this goodness. For it must reflect disgrace, nay, the foulest infamy upon us, if we appear to have thrown away not those states and territories only which we once commanded, but those alliances and favourable incidents, which fortune hath provided for us.

To begin on this occasion with a display of Philip's power, or to press you to exert your vigour, by motives drawn from hence, is, in my opinion, quite improper. And why? Because whatever may be offered upon such a subject, sets him in an honourable view, but seems to me, as a reproach to our conduct. For the higher his exploits have arisen above his former estimation, the more must the world admire him: while your disgrace hath been the greater, the more your conduct hath proved unworthy of your state. These things therefore I shall pass over. He indeed, who examines justly, must find the source of all his greatness here, not in himself. But the services he hath here received, from those whose public administration hath been devoted to his interest; those services which you must punish, I do not think it seasonable to display. There are other points of more moment for you all to hear; and which must excite the greatest abhorrence of him, in every reasonable mind. * * *

There are no people who ever made the least use of him, but have suffered by his subtlety: his present greatness being wholly owing to his deceiving those who were unacquainted with him, and making them the

instruments of his success. As these states therefore raised him while each imagined he was promoting some interest of theirs; these states must also reduce him to his former meanness, as it now appears that his own private interest was the end of all his actions.

Thus then, Athenians! is Philip circumstanced. If not, let the man stand forth, who can prove to me, I should have said to this assembly, that I have asserted these things falsely; or that they whom he hath deceived in former instances, will confide in him for the future; or that the Thessalians, who have been so basely, so undeservedly enslaved, would not gladly embrace their freedom When forces join in harmony and affection, and one common interest unites the confederating powers, then they share the toils with alacrity, they endure the distresses, they persevere. But when extravagant ambition, and lawless power (as in his case) have aggrandized a single person; the first pretence, the slightest accident, overthrows him, and all his greatness is dashed at once to the ground. For it is not, no, Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once; and borrow for a while, from hope, a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness; and they fall into ruin of themselves. For, as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true. But these advantages are not found in the actions of Philip.

I say then, that you should dispatch succours to the Olynthians: (and the more honourably and expeditiously this is proposed to be done, the more agreeably to my sentiments) and send an embassy to the Thessalians, to inform some, and to enliven that spirit already raised in others. And let it be your care, Athenians, that our ambassadors may not depend only upon words, but give them some action to display, by taking the field in a manner worthy of the state, and engaging in the war with vigour. For words, if not accompanied by actions, must ever appear vain and contemptible.

Would you indeed regain attention and confidence, your measures must be greatly changed, your conduct totally reformed; your fortunes, your persons, must appear devoted to the common cause; your utmost efforts must be exerted. If you will act thus, as your honour and your interest require; then, Athenians! you will not only discover the weakness and insincerity of Philip, but the ruinous condition of his own kingdom will also be laid open. The power and sovereignty of Macedon may have some weight indeed, when joined with others. But of itself, unsupported, it is infirm, it is totally distempered: for by all those glaring exploits, which have given him this apparent greatness, his wars, his expeditions, he hath rendered it yet weaker than it was naturally. For you are not to imagine that the inclinations of his subjects are the same with those of Philip. He thirsts for glory: this is his object, this he eagerly pursues, through toils and dangers of every kind; despising safety and life, when compared with the honour of atchieving such actions as no other prince of Macedon could ever boast of. But his subjects have no part in this ambition. Harrassed by those various excursions he is ever making, they groan under perpetual calamity; torn from their business, and their families, and without opportunity to dispose of that pittance which their toils have earned; as all commerce is shut out from the coast of Macedon by the war.

Hence one may perceive how his subjects in general are affected to Philip. But then his auxiliaries, and the soldiers of his phalanx, have the character of wonderful forces, trained compleatly to war. And yet I can affirm, upon the credit of a person from that country, incapable of falsehood, that they have no such superiority. For, as he assures me, if any man of experience in military affairs should be found among them, he dismisses all such, from an ambition of having every great action ascribed wholly to himself: (for, besides his other passions, the man hath this ambition in the highest degree.) And if any person, from a sense of decency, or other virtuous principle, betrays a dislike of him, he loses all favour and regard; so that none are left about him, but wretches who subsist on rapine and flattery. And these things, Athenians, trifling as they appear to some, are to men of just discernment great indications of the weakness both of his mind and fortune. At present, his successes cast a shade over them; for prosperity hath great power to veil such baseness from observation. But let his arms meet with the least disgrace, and all his actions will be exposed. This is a truth, of which he himself, Athenians! will, in my opinion, soon convince you, if the gods favour us, and you exert your vigour. For as in our bodies, while a man is in health, he feels no effect of any inward weakness; but, when disease attacks him, every thing becomes sensible, in the vessels,

in the joints, or in whatever other part his frame may be disordered; so in states and monarchies, while they carry on a war abroad, their defects escape the general eye: but when once it approaches their own territory, then they are all detected.

If there be any one among you who, from Philip's good fortune, concludes that he must prove a formidable enemy; such reasoning is not unworthy a man of prudence. Fortune hath great influence, nay, the whole influence, in all human affairs: but then, were I to chuse, I should prefer the fortune of Athens (if you yourselves will assert your own cause, with the least degree of vigour) to this man's fortune. For we have many better reasons to depend upon the favour of Heaven, than this man. But our present state is, in my opinion, a state of total inactivity; and he who will not exert his own strength, cannot apply for aid, either to his friends or to the gods. It is not then surprising, that he who is himself ever amidst the dangers and labours of the field; who is everywhere; whom no opportunity escapes; to whom no season is unfavourable; should be superior to you, who are wholly engaged in contriving delays, and framing decrees, and enquiring after news. I am not surprised at this, for the contrary must have been surprising: if we, who never act in any single instance, as becomes a state engaged in war, should conquer him, who, in every instance, acts with an indefatigable vigilance. * * * * * * * * *

I am not so unhappily perverse, as to study to be hated, when no good purpose can be answered by it: but it is my opinion, that every honest speaker should prefer the interest of the state to the favour of his hearers. This (I am assured, and perhaps you need not be informed) was the principle which actuated the public conduct of those of our ancestors who spoke in this assembly (men, whom the present set of orators are ever ready to applaud, but whose example they by no means imitate): such were Aristides, Nicias, the former Demosthenes, and Pericles. But since we have had speakers, who, before their public appearance, ask you, "What do you desire? What shall I propose? How can I oblige you?" The interest of our country hath been sacrificed to momentary pleasure, and popular favour. Thus have we been distressed; thus have these men risen to greatness, and you sunk into disgrace, * * * * * * * * *

Such was the state of Athens at that time, when the men I have mentioned were in power. But what is your condition under these indulgent ministers who now direct us? Is it the same, or nearly the same? Other things I shall pass over, though I might expatiate on them. Let it only be observed, that we are now, as you all see, left without competitors; the Lacedemonians lost: the Thebans engaged at home; and not one of all the other states of consequence sufficient to dispute the sovereignty with us. Yet, at a time when we might have enjoyed our own dominions in security, and been the umpires in all disputes abroad; we have expended above one thousand five hundred talents to no purpose; the allies which we gained in war have been lost in time of peace; and to this degree of power have we raised an enemy against ourselves. (For let the man stand forth who can shew, whence Philip hath derived his greatness, if not from us.)

"Well! if these affairs have but an unfavourable aspect, yet those within the city are much more flourishing than ever." Where are the proofs of this? The walls which have been whitened? the ways we have repaired? the supplies of water, and such trifles? Turn your eyes to the men, of whose administrations these are the fruits. Some of whom, from the lowest state of poverty, have arisen suddenly to affluence; some from meanness to renown: others have made their own private houses much more magnificent than the public edifices. Just as the state hath fallen, their private fortunes have been raised.

Favours are all dispensed, affairs all transacted by the ministers; while you, quite enervated, robbed of your riches, your allies, stand in the mean rank of servants and assistants: happy if these men grant you the theatrical appointments, and send you scraps of the public meal. And, what is of all most sordid, you hold yourselves obliged to them for that which is your own, while they confine you within these walls, lead you on gently to their purposes, and soothe and tame you to obedience. Nor is it possible, that they who are engaged in low and grovelling pursuits, can entertain great and generous sentiments. No! such as their employments are, so must their dispositions prove.—And now I call Heaven to witness, that it will not surprise me, if I suffer more by mentioning this your condition, than they who have involved you in it! Freedom of speech you do not allow on all occasions; and that you have now admitted it, excites my wonder. * * * * * * * * *

Phillip, as he is a man of consummate policy, complete in the art of turning every incident

to his own advantage; there is the utmost reason to fear, that partly by concessions, where they may be seasonable; partly by menaces, (and his menaces may be believed) and partly by rendering us and our absence suspected; he may tear from us something of the last importance, and force it into his own service.

Those very circumstances, however, which contribute to the power of Philip, are happily the most favourable to us. For that uncontrolled command, with which he governs all transactions, public and secret; his entire direction of his army, as their leader, their sovereign, and their treasurer; and his diligence, in giving life to every part of it, by his presence; these things greatly contribute to carrying on a war with expedition and success, but are powerful obstacles to that accommodation, which he would gladly make with the Olynthians. For the Olynthians see plainly, that they do not now fight for glory, or for part of their territory, but to defend their state from dissolution and slavery. They know how he rewarded those traitors of Amphipolis, who made him master of that city; and those of Pydna, who opened their gates to him.

Convinced of what hath now been offered, and possessed with every other just and worthy sentiment; you must be resolved, Athenians! you must exert your spirit; you must apply to the war, now, if ever; your fortunes, your persons, your whole powers, are now demanded. There is no excuse, no pretence left, for declining the performance of your duty. For that which you were all ever urging loudly, that the Olynthians should be engaged in a war with Philip, hath now happened of itself; and that in a manner most agreeable to our interest. For, if they had entered into this war at our persuasion, they must have been precarious allies, without steadiness or resolution: but, as their private injuries have made them enemies to Philip, it is probable that enmity will be lasting, both on account of what they fear, and what they have already suffered. My countrymen! let not so favourable an opportunity escape you: do not repeat that error which hath been so often fatal to you. * * * * * * * * * *

And in my opinion, Athenians! if a man were to bring the dealings of the gods towards us to a fair account, though many things might appear not quite agreeable to our wishes, yet he would acknowledge that we had been highly favoured by them; and with great reason: for that many places have been lost in the course of war, is truly to be charged to our own weak conduct. But that the difficulties, arisen from hence, have not long affected us; and that an alliance now presents itself to remove them, if we are disposed to make the just use of it; this I cannot but ascribe to the divine goodness. But the same thing happens in this case as in the use of riches. If a man be careful to save those he hath acquired, he readily acknowledges the kindness of fortune: but if by his imprudence they be once lost; with them he also loses the sense of gratitude. So in political affairs; they who neglect to improve their opportunities, forget the favours which the gods have bestowed; for it is the ultimate event which generally determines men's judgment of every thing precedent. And, therefore, all affairs hereafter should engage your strictest care; that by correcting our errors, we may wipe off the inglorious stain of past actions. But should we be deaf to these men too, and should he be suffered to subvert Olynthus; say, what can prevent him from marching his forces into whatever territory he pleases.

Is there not a man among you, Athenians! who reflects by what steps, Philip, from a beginning so inconsiderable, hath mounted to this height of power? First, he took Amphipolis: then he became master of Pidna; then Potidæa fell; then Methone: then came is inroad into Thessaly: after this, having disposed affairs at Pheræ, at Pegasæ, at Magnesia, entirely as he pleased, he marched into Thrace. Here, while engaged in expelling some, and establishing other princes, he fell sick. Again, recovering, he never turned a moment from his course to ease or indulgence, but instantly attacked the Olynthians. His expeditions against the Illyrians, the Paeonians, against Arymbas, I pass all over.—But I may be asked, why this recital, now? That you may know and see your own error, in ever neglecting some part of your affairs, as if beneath your regard: and that active spirit with which Philip pursueth his designs: which ever fires him; and which never can permit him to rest satisfied with those things he hath already accomplished. If then he determines firmly and invariably to pursue his conquests: and if we are obstinately resolved against every vigorous and effectual measure: think, what consequences may we expect! In the name of Heaven, can any man be so weak, as not to know, that by neglecting this war, we are transferring it from that country to our own! And should this happen, I fear, Athenians, that as they who inconsiderably borrow money upon high interest, after a short-lived

affluence are deprived of their own fortunes; so we, by this continued indolence, by consulting only our ease and pleasure, may be reduced to the grievous necessity of engaging in affairs the most shocking and disagreeable, and of exposing ourselves in the defence of this our native territory. * * *

It is worthy your attention to consider, how the affairs of Philip are at this time circumstanced. For they are by no means so well disposed, so very flourishing, as an inattentive observer would pronounce. We must suppose that the Pæonian and the Illyrian, and all the others would prefer freedom and independence to a state of slavery. They are not accustomed to subjection, and the insolence of this man, it is said, knows no bounds; nor is this improbable: for great and unexpected success is apt to hurry weak minds into extravagancies. Hence it often proves much more difficult to maintain acquisitions, than to acquire. It is your part, therefore, to regard the time of his distress as your most favourable opportunity: improve it to the utmost; send out your embassies; take the field yourselves, and excite a general ardor abroad; ever considering how readily Philip would attack us, if he were favoured by any incident like this, if a war had broken out on our borders. And would it not be shameful to want the resolution to bring that distress on him, which, had it been equally in his power, he certainly would have made you feel?

This too demands your attention, Athenians! that you are now to determine whether it be most expedient to carry the war into his country, or to fight him here. If Olynthus be defended, Macedon will be the seat of war: you may harass his kingdom, and enjoy your own territories free from apprehensions. But, should that nation be subdued by Philip, who will oppose his marching hither? will the Thebans? let it not be thought severe when I affirm, that they will join readily in the invasion. Will the Phocians? a people scarcely able to defend their own country, without your assistance. Will any others?—"But, Sir," cries some one, "he would make no such "attempt."—This would be the greatest of absurdities; not to execute those threats, when he hath full power, which, now when they appear so idle and extravagant, he yet dares to utter. And I think you are not yet to learn how great would be the difference between our engaging him here, and there. Were we to be only thirty days abroad, and to draw all the necessaries of the camp from our own lands, even were there no enemy to ravage them, the damage would, in my opinion, amount to more than the whole expense of the late war. Add then the presence of an enemy, and how greatly must the calamity be increased: but, further, add the infamy; and to those who judge rightly, no distress can be more grievous than the scandal of misconduct.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note of Baron de Hugel, Plenipotentiary of His Imperial Majesty, addressed the 26th Sept. 1802, to C. Laforêt, Minister extraordinary of the French Republic.

The declaration delivered at Ratisbon in the name of the intervening Powers contained an heavy and unmerited imputation upon the delays which attended the meeting of the Deputation of the Empire. His Majesty owed it to himself as well as to the Germanic Empire, to prove by facts that nothing had been neglected on his part to abridge these details. Far from wishing to inculpate any body, the faithful exposition of what is passing had only for its object to evince the purity of the conduct of the Emperor.—Such is also the motive which obliges His Majesty to call to mind here other facts relative to anterior conferences which had taken place upon the Indemnity of Tuscany, for the purpose of opposing them to assertions contained in the Note transmitted the 13th of this month to the Undersigned, by C. Laforêt, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic. His Majesty willingly submits it to the judgment of all Europe, whether he can be charged with injustice or ambition, for having insisted upon the full and entire Indemnity which the Treaty of Luneville assures to his august Brother. As to the means which he has employed to obtain the execution of so formal a stipulation, far from entertaining a fear of exposing them in full day, he can only feel a desire for their publicity, inasmuch as all his efforts have had exclusively for their object to combine the strict execution of the Peace of Luneville with the maintenance of the Germanic Constitution. Some indirect insinuations made at Vienna, by a distinguished person in the service of the Court of Munich, have given reason to think that the Elector Palatine himself wished to settle with the Grand Duke of Tuscany upon the exchanges for their mutual convenience; nobody then doubting but that the Indemnity of His Royal Highness would be such as the Treaty imported. In the supposition that the complement of the Indemnity of Tuscany could not be found, except in the ecclesiastical properties of Suabia, it was in question to concentrate the respective possessions by an exchange of the part of Bavaria, in the neighbourhood of the Bishop of Salzburg.—His Majesty, having no motive to object to such an arrangement, did not shew himself disinclined to give effect to these overtures. Insinuations of the same kind took place at Paris at the time of the ratification of the Treaty of Luneville, and they went even so far as to put in doubt what had been said to the Austrian Plenipotentiary, whether the Elector would be able to preserve the City of Munich; but it never had been, nor could be, a question, in these different conferences to carry so far as the Lech the Indemnity of the Grand Duke

of Tuscany.—Upon what title could the Elector be deprived of the whole of Bavaria? Where could the means be found to indemnify him? and though His Majesty should have had views so foreign from his sentiments, how could he conceive the idea solely to engage the French Government to adopt them? He appeals, in this, to the testimony which he has himself furnished, to that of the Court of Munich, and to that of the Imperial Court of Russia, to which every thing was communicated upon this subject. All those who had a knowledge of the subject which was then in treaty, know that the only question was, that of the Iser, with the addition of the proposition made by Austria to leave to the Elector a suitable extent of County, for the purpose of removing the City of Munich from the frontier; and that this projet, which surely was not exaggerated in the supposition of a full and entire indemnity for Tuscany, at the same time that His Palatine Highness should have obtained in Suabia a complete equivalent of cessions, to which it would be willingly carried, was entirely abandoned by the Emperor, the moment it was perceived that the Elector was not inclined to put his hand to it. Since that time the views of His Majesty for a supplementary portion to be given to his august Brother have been solely fixed upon Ecclesiastical Properties and Free Cities, situate in the circle of Suabia. The plan of it has been drawn up in Paris, and afterwards proposed by His Imperial Majesty of Russia, who in his wisdom adopted it in full. In confining himself to this faithful statement of every thing that passed upon the subject, he may dispense with noticing the inductions contained in the Note of Citizen Laforêt. Never could the Emperor have entertained a thought of procuring for his august Brother any part whatsoever of Bavaria in any other manner than by an arrangement of mutual consent, to the perfect convenience of the Elector Palatine. His Majesty has already given, relative to the City of Passau, every assurance that could be expected from his justice and moderation. He is ready to surrender that City to the person, who by the legal and definitive arrangement of the Indemnities shall be acknowledged its lawful owner. It is not until then, that the present possessor shall cease to be so, and that His Majesty will be disengaged from the obligation which he has contracted, at the request of the Prince Bishop, to provide for his safety until the decision of his fate. The Emperor would not willingly renounce the hope, that the moderate and equitable propositions with which he has recently charged his Ambassador to the French Republic, shall put an end to all differences of opinion between him and the First Consul, but should it be otherwise, his august Brother, without having any pretensions to make to any part of Bavaria, which he never entertained an idea of acquiring, except by the way of exchange with mutual consent, will not the less retain the incontestible right secured to him by the Treaty of Luneville, to a full and entire indemnity in Tuscany; a right, of which the Empire and France have solemnly bound themselves to put him in possession.

The Undersigned eagerly embraces this opportunity to repeat to C. Laforêt, Minister Extraordinary of the French Republic, the assurance of his high consideration.

Note addressed the same day to the Minister of Russia by the Imperial Plenipotentiary.

The Undersigned has not failed to make his august Master acquainted with the Note which Baron de Buhler transmitted to him the 13th of September. He is charged to inform him, in answer, that the welfare of the Germanic Empire, and the most prompt arrangement of what still remains to be regulated in consequence of the Treaty of Luneville, form equally the object of the most ardent wishes of His Imperial and Apostolic Majesty and King.—In claiming the accomplishment of what the Treaty of Luneville secures to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as His Majesty cannot dispense with it, the means of conciliation which he has himself proposed, in that respect, the moderation of his demands, notwithstanding the incontestible rights of His Royal Highness to a full and entire Indemnity; every thing unites to prove that it is not His Majesty's fault that the issue of important affairs, which are at this moment treating of, should not be as prompt as all those interested in them might desire. The Emperor is convinced of the sentiments of equity entertained by His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; he relies with confidence upon his friendship; he cannot doubt but that august Sovereign appreciates, at once, both the justice of his demands, and the spirit of conciliation that directs his whole conduct.—His Imperial Majesty shall be, no doubt, immediately informed of all the circumstances which have rendered necessary the occupation of the City of Passau by the Imperial troops. He will acknowledge in his wisdom that this occupation having taken place at the instance of him, who is still its lawful possessor. His Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, has satisfied every thing that could be required of him, in declaring, that this City should be delivered up, without any obstacle on his part, to the person to whom it should be legally adjudged by the definitive arrangement.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Rome, Sept. 18.—A meeting was held on the 12th instant, of the Order of St. John of St. Jerusalem, in the Palace of Cardinal Braschi, the Grand Prior, to elect Candidates for the Office of Grand Master. The result of their proceedings was then submitted to the Pope, to whom the final decision of this affair has been referred by the powers interested.—His Holiness' choice has fallen on the Roman Prince Ruspole, and a courier has been sent off to carry his appointment to him, to Paris or London, in one of which cities he will be found.

Berne, Sept. 26.—The Council of Two Hundred issued a Proclamation on the 21st, from which the following is an extract:—"We, the Great and "Lesser Councils of the City and Republic of "Berne, do by these presents assure all our faith-"ful adherents of our good and patriotic inten-"tions towards the same, &c. At length, after "repeated sufferings, and four years of disaster "and misfortune, we are all arrived at the object "of our wishes, to which our good fortune, as "well as our duty, invited us some time since. "We return to the bosom of our Common Mother, "the capital City of Berne, which your courage "and fidelity have assisted us to regain.—We are

" filled with gratitude and admiration, in contem-
" plating that sublime and generous devotion with
" which you have braved such multiplied dangers,
" in order to re-establish your Laws and your
" Government.—The Sovereign Power has re-
" solved to be on terms of amity with those who,
" during unsettled and turbulent periods, have
" deviated from the line of their duty;—to those
" it opens the doors of reconciliation. Of you it
" expects an oblivion for all the injuries you
" have sustained, and that you will not sully the
" glorious triumph of your Country by acts of in-
" dividual vengeance. It is incumbent on us to
" hold with a steady hand the reins of Govern-
" ment, and to punish with severity all those who
" in any manner impair public confidence, or who
" attack the persons of their neighbours, or injure
" their characters or properties."—Our Canton is now under a Provisionary Government. The majority of votes was in the first instance for the complete re-establishment of the ancient regime; but they were soon convinced of the necessity of yielding to the spirit of the times. The Provisional Government of Zurich have solemnly engaged that that City and District shall be put into the enjoyment of equal rights and liberties Those Cities which formerly enjoyed exclusive rights of Sovereignty, are endeavouring to obtain declarations in their favour.—General Aufdermaur returned to this quarter the day before yesterday from Berthoud, whence he brought 500 prisoners, part of the garrison of Lucerne. Yesterday the Deputies from the Lesser Cantons arrived; they have since ratified the scheme for levying 20,000 men, as proposed by the Central Committee at Schwitz. These troops are to be commanded by General Bachman. They have also agreed to make a common cause against the Helvetic Government. The Provisional Diet established at Schwitz is engaged in forming necessary and immediate regulations. Berne and the other Cities, formerly aristocratical, have engaged not to lend their aid to form a Constitution which shall be disagreeable to the inhabitants; they have also engaged to several Cantons not to intermeddle in their internal government. M. de Mulinen has been dispatched to Paris; we are impatient to learn the resolution of the French Government. Other Foreign Powers have been written to, but Ministers have not yet been sent.

Vienna, Sept. 20.—The Royal Family are plunged into the greatest sorrow, on account of the unexpected death of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Princess of Naples, and wife of the *ci-devant* Grand Duke of Tuscany. This Princess died yesterday at six in the evening, in child-bed. His Imperial Majesty came to-day from Baden, to console his august brother, who is deeply afflicted at the loss of his wife. The body of the illustrious deceased, will lie in state to-morrow in the chapel of the Palace, and will be interred on the 22d in the evening, in the vault of the Imperial Family, at the convent of the Capuchins.—The Batavian Envoy, Citizen Van Spaan, yesterday had his audience of entry of his Imperial Majesty.

Morat, Sept. 29.—The insurgents were attacked at the gates of Morat, and several prisoners made; on the part of the government, the loss was but trifling.

Berne, Sept. 29.—The Bernese Deputies sent to the French Minister at Lausanne are returned, without having fulfilled the object of their mission. Verninac refused to recognise them as deputies from the Canton of Berne.

Lausanne, Sept. 29.—During the night, between the 25th and 26th, the Helvetic General in Chief received a dispatch from the insurgent commander, acquainting him that the suspension of arms had ceased.—At six in the morning Fribourg was attacked. After an hour's cannonade, the commandant was summoned to surrender. He answered he could not treat with those who had manifested their ill faith, in violating the capitulation of Berne, and disarming the Helvetic troops.—The cannonade then began a-new, and continued about an hour, when a second parley took place, but which produced a similar answer from the besieged. The cannonade then continued briskly until evening, but without the desired effect. The attack was renewed with increased vigour, on the morning of the 27th, when, at length, the commandant was under the necessity of capitulating. —Immediately after possessing themselves of Fribourg, the insurgents proceeded towards the Canton de Vaud, the only one which remains faithful to the Helvetic government. The Confederate Generals have addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud.— " We understand that the *soi-disant* Helvetic go-
" vernment have adopted the most tyrannical
" measures, with a view of raising the whole Pays
" de Vaud against us. In entering your territory
" we come but to fulfill these engagements which
" we have already made, and promise to wage no
" war but against that miscalled government. We
" come to you as friends, and not in the smallest
" degree to influence your choice respecting a
" constitution, and our intention is to retire, as
" soon as, with the Divine permission, we accom-
" plish the end we have in view. Entertain no
" fears; be not alarmed. Public tranquillity, so
" far from being interrupted by our presence, will
" be durably established by our success. We
" have issued the strictest orders for the due ob-
" servance of discipline, and that no individual
" whatever be molested.—Every well founded
" complaint made to us shall be redressed.—Such,
" dear compatriots, are the intentions with which
" we enter your territory.—Rely upon our loyalty
" and forbearance; in like manner, we shall
" depend upon your amicable dispositions, and
" above all, trust to Providence for the final tri-
" umph of our just and legitimate cause.—Dated
" at head-quarters at Fribourg, Sept. 27, 1802.
" The Commanders in Chief of the troops of the
" Swiss Cantons.

" *D. Aufdermaur. E. de Watterville.*"

The National Prefect of the Canton de Vaud being temporarily invested with the powers of the minister of the police, immediately issued the following proclamation—" To arms, citizens! they
" promised to permit our troops to arrive at the
" frontiers: they have violated their oaths.—
" They promised not to attack the Pays de Vaud:
" They have attacked it:—And will you trust to
" their farther promises? What true Vaudois but
" feels his heart swell with indignation, and will
" not take up arms in order to defend his house
" and his family from pillage, from robbery, and
" from slavery? Let every brave man come for-
" ward, and we shall avert those accumulated
" evils!"

Basle, Sept 30.—The provisional government has re-established the ancient arms of the Sover ign

City of Basle, and taken down those of the Helvetic Republic.—In the present conjuncture, the Frickthal does not consummate its union with Switzerland, and the authorities of that country are to remain provisionally charged with the government.

Lausanne, Oct. 1.—The column, which left this place last night, arrived before Orbe in the night; it attacked the insurgents this morning intrenched before the city: the latter made a vigorous resistance. It appears that this insurrectional movement was combined with another. The Bernese were to debark some troops at Vaumaren, on the Lake of Neufchatel, but the plan failed. Our troops forced the insurgents to retreat to the Mountains. As Orbe had participated in the insurrection, it has been laid under a contribution of 12,000 livres.

Basil, Oct. 3.—The confederation between the smaller Cantons and Berne has been signed.—They all agree to use every means in their power to drive those who constituted the Helvetic government from the Swiss territory. The other Cantons have been requested to concur in this confederation, and to furnish troops. The forces of the insurgents are daily augmenting, and their army now amounts to 20,000 men. The ancient form of government has been established in most of the aristocratic Cantons. The great and small councils have been established, with all the rights which they exercised before the year 1798; but it has been thought proper to entrust provisionally the direction of general affairs, and of government, to particular committees.

Strasburgh, Oct. 3.—A large army is to be formed near Huningueo, to enter Switzerland under the command of General Rey. Several corps stationed in our department, and a part of our garrison, have received orders to repair thither.—We learn from Lausanne, that the Helvetic Government has quitted that city, and gone to Geneva.

Amsterdam, Oct. 5.—For this last week rumours have been in circulation of an insurrection which was to take place, and the principal persons who were to direct it were openly talked of. The names of Generals Daendels, Dumonceau, Walchnaer, &c. were mentioned. There is not the least truth in these rumours, and it has appeared astonishing that the government should seem to place any credit in them by offering a large reward for the discovery of the author of a pamphlet upon the subject. The party which was supposed to be on the point of rising, was the Jacobins, whose cause seems now perfectly hopeless. They would never have had any consistency in this country, if the French government, when it was Jacobinical itself, had not supported them, and appointed them to places of importance.—General Daendels went this morning to the Executive Authority. The result of his conference is not yet known, but the General is at liberty, and does not appear to entertain the slightest apprehensions. Dumonceau and M. Shimmelpenninck are expected to-morrow. The latter, in a letter addressed to government, has assured them that he is totally ignorant of the business, and that he never had any conferences with Daendels or Dumonceau upon the political affairs of the country: every thing is tranquil.—Semonville is not yet arrived, and this delay is attributed to a political motive. It is said that France will not interfere in any manner in our affairs; and that Semonville will not arrive till every thing is arranged.

Paris, Oct. 5.—*Arrête of the 21st of Sept.*—The Consuls of the French republic having seen the report that has been presented to them by the Minister of Foreign Affairs upon the French merchants of the Levant, who have passed under foreign protection, decree,

"Art. I. All French merchants and other natives established at Constantinople, and in the other parts of the Levant, who, before and since the rupture between the Republic and the Ottoman Porte, have passed under the foreign protection of any nation whatever, are maintained in the rights and prerogatives attached to the quality of French citizen. (Signed) *Buonaparté.*"

Oct. 8.—At the audience of the First Consul on Thursday last, Mr. Merry, the British Minister Plenipotentiary, presented Lord Carhampton, a general in the army, Major Eustace, aid-de-camp to Lord Carhampton, Lord Frederic Montagu, lieutenant-colonel, the Earl of Oxford, the Chevalier Callander, major general in the army, the Chevalier Turton, major-commandant of a corps of volunteers, Mr. Johnstone, member of the new parliament, Major Christie, Captain Brodie, commander of a frigate, Captain Pater, captain of a ship, Captain Mackay, an officer of marine, Mr. Mackintosh, a barrister, Mr. Dallas, King's counsel and member of parliament, Captain Bathurst, Mr. Bennett, Captain Maitland, an officer in the guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, an officer of infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, an officer of cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Blaquiere, an officer of dragoons, Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, Mr. Roche, Captain Clifton, an officer of artillery, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Halifax, Mr. Garnier, Mr. Smyth, Mr. Weyland, Mr. Foster, Major Allen, Lieutenant-Colonel Ruddock, a captain in the guards, Mr. Porter, Mr. Robson, member of parliament, Major Aubrey, Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, Lieutenant-Colonel Tyndall, an officer of horse-guards, and Mr. Crawfurd.—The last news from St. Domingo, is of the date of the 28th of August. The Captain-General Leclerc, and Generals Rochambeau and Dugua, were in good health. The mortality in the hospitals was considerably diminished. Some bands of negroes had again risen in insurrection, but were soon repressed.—General Leclerc reviewed his army on the 28th. He had already obtained by the disarming of the negroes 30,000 muskets, and expected to obtain 10,000 more.—The Captain-General Leclerc was occupied with the greatest activity in re-organizing all the parts of the administration.—The last intelligence from Guadaloupe is dated the latter end of August. General Lacrosse had been re-established in his post of captain-general, and had been received with all the necessary ceremony, in order to atone for the outrage which had been committed by a handful of brigands against the agent of government. It is time the colonies should learn that there is no mercy for those who endeavour to create disorder; and that the government will severely execute the laws upon those who revolt against the authority of the mother country.—The individuals who composed the committee of insurrection, calling itself the provisory council, who created an insurrection in the colony against the captain-general, are in the prisons of Brest, and will be delivered over to the tribunals. The tribunals will feel the importance of their functions, and that there can be neither colonies nor national authority, if a handful of individuals may hope for impunity in carrying on conspiracies against the agents of govern-

ment.—The last intelligence from Martinique is extremely satisfactory: more than forty French vessels have already arrived, and sold their cargoes well.

Rotterdam, Oct. 9.—Citizen Dumonceau, Schimmelpenninck, and the French Ambassador Semonville, are arrived at the Hague. General Daendels has had a conference with the President of the Executive Government.

Lieutenant General Daendels and Dumonceau to the Council of War of the Batavian Republic.

"It would be unbecoming the rank we have the "honour to hold, were we to enter into an exculpation of ourselves, with respect to a certain "bulletin, of which we have been informed by "the publication of the government of state of "the 28th Sept. Yet we think it necessary to "declare publicly, as officers, who love honour, "that our sentiments have been entirely misinterpreted, imagining that by inserting our names "in the said bulletin, the army would be persuaded that we approved of the propagation of "the spirit of opposition among the troops, to "the government, and that we wished to excite "them to disturbances. We intreat the Councillors of War to make known our sentiments to "the Government of State. Health and respect.

(Signed) "*Daendels. Dumonceau.*"

DOMESTIC.

On Thursday, 7th inst. her Majesty held a drawing room at St. James's, which was numerously attended.—The presentations were—

Lord St. Helen's, on his arrival from the Court of St. Petersburgh.—The newly elected Sheriffs of London, Messrs. Alexander and Welsh.—Admiral Lord Keith, from the Mediterranean.—Gen. Sir Thomas Trigge, on his arrival from the West-Indies.—Maj.-Gen. Doyle, on arriving from Egypt.—Gen. Craig, from the East-Indies.—Commis. Sir S. Hood, on setting off for the Island of Trinidad.—Lieut.-Col. Sir E. Butler, on arriving from Egypt.—J. Burton, Esq. Gentleman Usher and Quarterly Waiter, had the honour to kiss the Queen's hand.—Lord and Lady Fitzgerald took leave on their setting off for Lisbon; as did Capt. Fielding for the same place.—Lady Warren was at Court for the first time since the death of Sir Geo. Warren.—Mr. Spencer Smith, his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte, on his return from Constantinople, with leave of absence, by Lord Hawkesbury.—Mrs. Spencer Smith, on her marriage and arrival in England, by Lady Hawkesbury.—Baron Herbert of Rathkeal, an Austrian Officer of the Reg. of Cobourg, and Knight of the Military order of St. Stephen of Tuscany, by Baron Reigersfeldt, the Imperial Charge d'Affairs.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

St. James's, Oct. 7.—Count St. Martin de Front, having received new Letters of Credence from his Majesty Victoire Emanuel King of Sardinia, giving him the same character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Sardinia, had this day a private audience of her Majesty.

Whitehall, Oct. 9.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Honourable Edward Legge, Clerk, Bachelor of Laws, the Place and Dignity of a Prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the Castle of Windsor, void by the death of the Reverend Doctor William Arnald.—The King has also been pleased to grant to the Reverend John Barton, Clerk, Master of Arts, the Place and Dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, void by the Resignation of the Honourable Edward Legge.

War Office, Oct. 12.—6th Reg. of Drag. Guards, Alex. Kennedy Clarke, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Blake, who retires. Assistant-Surgeon James Arthur, from the 23d Light Drag. to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Cladwell, who retires upon Half pay.—3d Reg. of Drag. Rich. Staunton Sitwell Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, *v.* Tucker, promoted.—4th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon ——— Matthews, from the 52d Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon. *v.* Sargent, who exchanges.—11th Reg. of Light Drag. Ensign Charles Maximillian St. Paul, from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Mingay, who retires.—20th Ditto, Surgeon Rich. Cobbe, from the 2d Batt. Royals, to be Surgeon, *v.* George, whose appointment does not take place. Assistant-Surgeon Henry Coates, from Half-pay of the Royal Waggon Train, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—22d Ditto, Lieut. Orford Gordon, from the 33d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, *v.* Sinclair, who retires.—23d Ditto, Cornet Peter Warburton, to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Aburthnot, promoted.—2d Batt. of the 1st Reg. of Foot, Surgeon William Morlen, from Half-pay of the 54th Foot, to be Surgeon, *v.* Cobbe, removed to the 20th Light Drag.—5th Reg. of Foot, Lieut.-Col. Wm. Cockell, from Half-pay of the 46th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. *v.* Lindsey, who exchanges.—8th Ditto, Cornet John Mac Mahon, from the 8th Light Drag. to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Battersby, promoted.—16th Ditto, Hospital Mate, Edw. O'Reilly, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—20th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. John Colbourne, to be Capt. *v.* Newman, deceased. Lieut. Charles Des Voeux, to be Capt.-Lieut. *v.* Colbourne. Ensign William Lyons to be Lieut. *v.* Des Voeux.—21st Ditto, Surgeon J. H. Macpherson, from the late Clanalpine Fencibles, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—30th Ditto, Ens. Alex. Young to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Russel, promoted. William Stewart, Gent. to be Ensign, *v.* Young.—36th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. R. R. Campbell to be Capt. without purchase, *v.* Williamson, placed on Half-pay. Lieut. Alex. Williamson to be Capt.-Lieut. *v.* Campbell.—38th Ditto, Lieut. James Annesley, from Half-pay of the 17th Light Drag. to be Lieut. *v.* Bowen, who exchanges, receiving the difference. Surgeon Gurge Burleigh, from the late Essex Fencibles, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—44th Ditto, Francis Bernard Jervoise, Gent. to be Ensign by purchase, *v.* Cumming, who retires. Hospital Mate John Inglis to be Assistant-Surgeon.—45th Ditto, Lieut. J. Bond, from Half-pay of the 17th Foot, to be Lieut. *v.* Wm. Bond, who exchanges. Hospital-Mate John Gibson to be Assistant-Surgeon.—50th Ditto, Hospital-Mate Edgib, to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Cooper, who resigns. Hospital-Mate Alexander Coulson to be Assistant Surgeon.—52d Ditto, Assistant Surgeon Andrew Sargent, from the 4th Dragoons, to be Assistant-Surgeon, *v.* Mathews, who exchanges.—56th Ditto, Ensign Alexander Macdonald to be Lieut. by purchase, *v.* Buckley, who retires.—62d Ditto, William Cooke Collis, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, *v.* Tomkinson, who retires.—63d Ditto, Thomas Ricketts Myers, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, *v.* White, promoted.—68th Ditto, Ensign H. Willis, from Half-pay, to be Ensign, *v.* Jones, who exchanges.—

71st Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon James Evans, from Half-pay of the 15th Foot, to be Assistant Surgeon.—72d Ditto, Hospital-Mate William Wilson, to be Assistant-Surgeon.—83d Ditto, Ensign John Lindsay Bucknall, from Half-pay of the Corsican Corps, to be Ensign, *v.* Oliver, promoted.—1st West-India Reg. Michael Stretch, Esq. to be Paymaster, *v.* Calcott, deceased.—5th Ditto, Lieut. Col. Thomas Barrow, from the 6th West-India Reg. to be Lieut.-Col. *v.* Sir Rich. Bassett, who exchanges.—5th Ditto, Col. Sir Richard Bassett, from the 5th West-India Reg. to be Lieut.-Col. *v.* Barrow, who exchanges

Brevet.—Lieut.-Col. Thomas Barrow, of the 5th West-India Reg. to be Col. at the Bay of Honduras only.

BANKRUPTS.

Truste, William, Cripplegate, shoe-maker.—Davey, James, East Anstey, Devonshire, yeoman.—Cox, James, John Street, Minories, painter and glazier.—Kevington, Thomas, Worcester, draper.—Bridgman, John, Lothbury, merchant.—Gowland, Thomas, the younger, Birchin Lane, merchant.—Biddulph, John, Staffordshire, cordwainer.—Horton, John, Islington Road, mealman.—Stanbury, John, Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, baker.

BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES.

Births.—On Wednesday, at Battersea Rise, the Lady of H. Thornton, Esq. M.P. of a son.—On the 7th inst. at Margate, the Lady of Commissioner George, of a son.

Marriage.—At Ayr, on Monday se'nnight, Capt. Robert Hamilton, 79th Reg. of Foot, to Miss Margaret Bowie, of Cambusiscan.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI
Stock Bank.	—	—	183	—	—	—
3 pr. C.R. An.	—	68⅛	67⅜	67⅛	67⅜	67
3 per C. Con.	69⅛	69⅛	68⅜	68⅜	68⅜	67⅜
4 pr C. Cons.	—	86	85½	85⅝	85⅞	84⅞
5 pr Ct. Ann.	101⅛	101⅛	100⅞	100⅝	100⅝	100⅝
Bank L. Ann.	—	20 1/16	20⅛	20	12 1/16	19 1/16
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	4½	4½	4 7/16	4½	—
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	—	68⅛	—	—	—
D° Ann.....	12¼	12¼	12¼	12¼	12¼	12¼
3 per Ct. 1797	—	101¼	100¼	100¼	100⅛	100
Omnium ...	8 dis	8 dis	8 dis	8½ dis	8½ dis	10 dis
India Stock..	—	—	206	—	—	—
Irish 5 pr. Ct.	—	—	98¼	—	—	—

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 1	2 us.	Leghorn 51¼
D°, at sight	10 19		Naples..... 43½
Rotterdam	11 2	2 us.	Genoa 47¼
Hamburgh	33 5	2½ us.	Venice, 37 livres piccole effective per £. ster.
Altona....	33 6	2½ us.	Lisbon..... 68
Paris 1 day	23 11		Oporto..... 67½
Paris.....	23 19	2 us.	Dublin..... 11⅛
Bourdeaux,	24		Bilboa..... 36; D°
Cadiz	36½	eff.	Agio, bank on Hol. p.
Madrid ..	36½	effective	

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	47s to 63s	Hops per cwt.	150s to 240s
Rye.....	33 .. 36	Hay per load....	80 .. 135
Barley.....	28 .. 33	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt.....	46 .. 49	Mutton	5s od. to 6s od.
Oats.....	15 .. 24	Veal	4s. 8d. to 6s. 6d.
Pease white	44 .. 48	Pork....	5s. od. to 6s. od.
Beans horse	33 .. 36	Tallow	4s. 9d.
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 54	Av. of Sugar pr cw	35s. 3½d
Seconds.....	45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10d.
Coals per chal....	40 .. 44	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

Days.	M'sage	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
30		Fog. Fine.	SE	SE	30,2	30,16	58	63
1		Fog. Fine.	WNW	W	30,06	30,06	56	66
2		Fine.	NW	NW	29,98	29,98	61	68
3		Fine.	S	S	29,86	29,86	60	68
4	☽	Rain.	SW	SW	29,6	29,6	54½	62
5		Fine.	SW	SW	29,7	29,9	55	58
6		Fine.	SW	SW	29,9	29,8	54¼	59
7		Fine.	NW	NW	29,7	29,8	53	60
8		Fine.	W	SW	29,6	29,5	54	61
9		Rain.	W	W	29,4	29,3	51	49
10		Frost Fair	NW	NW	29,8	29,8	46	52
11	○	Frost Fair	S	S	29,85	29,88	49	55
12		Rain.	S	NW	29,47	29,43	58	59,5
13		Fair.	N	N	29,9	30,01	50	56,5

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

In Holland there has been discovered a plot, or a pretended plot, against the present government; and, it has been suggested by some, that it is a contrivance of the French for the purpose of exciting commotion, and providing themselves with an excuse, as in the case of Switzerland, for taking the country more immediately under their command. This appears to us to be speculating rather too deeply. France is certainly at the bottom of the plot, which we believe, too, to be no more than a mere sham; but the object is, we should think, not to provide an excuse for seizing on the country, but to obtain a plausible pretext for delaying the departure of the French army. Holland cannot, in the present crisis, be completely evacuated, without great danger to the interests of France in that country. The example of the Swiss might embolden the Dutch to make an attempt at breaking their chains. Belgium lies between Switzerland and Holland—two magazines of combustibles connected by a train of powder! The French know this, and they will not, 'till affairs are settled in the former country, withdraw their troops from the latter.

The Emperor still resists the insolent mandates of France, with respect to the projected division of Germany; and, if *the interposition in behalf of Switzerland*, on which, it seems, our ministers affect, at least, to have determined, should actually take place, it is possible that the Empire may yet be preserved from the fangs of the Corsican wolf.

With regard to the grounds, the nature, and the object, of this interposition, we shall lay them before our readers precisely as we find them described in an article, which appeared in the True Briton of Thursday, and which we look upon as the unofficial manifesto of the ministry. "The extraor-
" dinary interference of the French govern-
" ment in the internal affairs of Switzer-

" land, and the evident intention of the " First Consul to prescribe to the people of " that country the form of government " which he chooses they should live under, " seems to us to be of more importance to " this country, as well as to all Europe, " *than we apprehend is yet generally conceived.*" [Bless us! how vigilant we are become all of a sudden!] " It is not only the generous " feelings for an oppressed and injured " people that Englishmen have, upon this " occasion, to indulge (and surely the con- " duct of France towards Switzerland must " arouse all our indignation against the one " party, and awaken all our sympathy for " the other), but the question embraces " that which, perhaps, involves our own " safety and welfare as a free and indepen- " dent state. If the government of France " is to assume to itself the right of invad " ing at pleasure, and modelling the go- " vernment of one independent country, it " may claim the privilege of doing so for " all. The principle must be considered as " a general one, and, as such, affects all in- " dependent countries alike. It springs " from that system of gigantic and hideous " ambition, which would revolutionize all " nations, and render all people tributary " to France. It was reasonable to hope [yes, the solid young lord, and Lord Castlereagh, the "*safe* politicians," thought so; but Mr. Windham, in his Speech on the Preliminaries, p. 29, said it was NOT *reasonable*. He said, on the contrary, that such a hope was *base* and *extravagant*] " that when general tranquillity took place, " the views of conquest and aggrandize- " ment which France indulged and prac- " tised during the war, would have given " place to sentiments more equitable and " pacific—that the principles which the re- " volution had called forth would have " been abandoned upon the restoration of " a fixed government, for something like " moderation and justice, as applied to other " states. If we are to judge from the pre- " sent conduct of France towards Switzer- " land, however, such hopes are not very " likely to be speedily realized, and the " dictatorial language used towards that " unhappy country, cannot be considered " as very respectful to the powers of Eu- " rope at large. The proclamation of the " First Consul deciding the fate of a free " people, is issued from the Consular Pa- " lace, without even the compliment of " previous communication to any other " power, at least certainly without any " previous communication having been " had with this country. Under these " circumstances, the cause of Switzerland " becomes a common one with every Power, " that is not a voluntary slave to the influence " of France, *and a resistance to* THE SYSTEM " *at present pursued by Buonaparté becomes a* " *duty in the rulers of every free country.*" [Stand to that, whatever you do.] " Know- " ing, as we do, how important it is to the " interests of this nation that the peace " should be preserved, we cannot be sup- " posed to be the advocates for war" [Oh! by no means!] " Far from it—We have " ever thought, and we still continue to " think, that the present ministers deserve " the warmest gratitude of their country for " having procured peace at the time, and " upon the terms, they did." [Though it has produced such tremendous mischiefs!] " Peace was ardently wished for *by the whole* " *nation*, and ministers, by procuring it, " shewed a praise-worthy *attention to the* " *public voice.*" [So, so! the "experiment" having failed, the blame is now to be laid on the poor mob!] " But the greatest blessings " which humanity can enjoy, may be pur- " chased or preserved at too dear a rate. " There are evils in the lot of nations, as " well as of men, between which *wisdom* has " only to make *its election of the least*," [*Wisdom* had then, nothing to do in the choice of peace.] " In the abstract, peace is al- " ways preferable to war; but, in the course " of events, the latter may become a lesser " evil than the price which a continuance of " peace may demand; and certain we are, " that it is not in the nature of Englishmen " to purchase the greatest national blessing " by any sacrifice of the national honour " and independence. By such a conduct, " indeed, we should only embrace a delu- " sion, and should have voluntarily paved " the way for our own disgrace and downfall. " —While we reason thus, we wish to be " understood as reasoning merely hypotheti- " cally, and from the first impression which the " parent conduct of the French government " excites. We still hope it has moderation " and justice enough to listen to a remon- " strance on the part of a government equal- " ly independent as itself, against such " monstrous aggressions as it threatens to " practise against the people of Switzerland. " —We believe that this subject has occu- " pied for some time the attention of our " cabinet, and we cannot but express our " hope that such a remonstrance will be " made as may convince the Chief Consul, " that however desirous we may be of pre- " serving peace, we are *not yet* prepared to

" submit to any glaring acts of violence and " injustice. The honour, the dignity, the " safety of the country, seem to us to de- " mand some interference on our part in be- " half of the Swiss, and we leave it to the " wisdom of our Government to decide in " what manner that is best and most effec- " tually to be done. Whatever they may " determine upon in vindication of the ho- " nour, and in support of the rights of their " country, they may rely upon it will be " warmly seconded by the energy and the " patriotism of all descriptions of His Majes- " ty's subjects."

We regret exceedingly, that our limits will not permit us to enter into an examination of this precious state-paper. It must be deferred till our next.—It will be perceived, by the postscript, that the Swiss people have again beaten the troops of the Usurpers.

POSTSCRIPT.

Lausanne, Oct. 4.—Yesterday evening an action took place upon the whole of the line. The Helvetic army was put to the rout by the insurgents, and fell back in disorder upon Moudon.

Lausanne was this morning under the greatest alarms, it was even thought advisable to remove the seat of Government to Geneva, when Citizen Rapp, an Adjutant-General of the First Consul, was on a sudden observed to arrive.—He went to the Senate, accompanied by Citizen Verninac, the French Minister, and delivered to the Senate a proclamation, addressed to Buonaparté to the eighteen Cantons of the Helvetic Republic, dated St. Cloud, the 8th Vendémiaire.

The proclamation being read, General Rapp acquainted the Senate, that he was going to Berne to make the same communication to the insurgents. He accordingly set out a few minutes after. It is asserted, that should the Bernese refuse to obey the summons of the First Consul, General Rapp has orders to declare to them, that the French government will send 40,000 men into Switzerland.

The Senate issued the following decree, for publishing the proclamation of the First Consul:

The Senate having heard read the declaration of the First Consul of France, dated St. Cloud, the 18th Vendemiaire, brought this day by General Rapp, the tenor of which has already preceded, decree:—That they receive with the most lively gratitude this new testimony of the good wishes of the First Consul, for the Helvetic people, and that the Senate will conform to the contents of the said declaration, as far as it relates to them. A notification shall be given of the present decree to all the authorities, as also to the commanders of the troops who have armed against the government.

The Executive Council yesterday appointed the chief of brigade, Wonderweid, commander in chief of our troops, in the room of Gen. Andermatt.

According to letters from Basle of the 4th of October, the unexpected news of a French army being collecting in the neighbourhood, produced so alarming a sensation, that couriers were immediately dispatched to Berne, Zurich, and Schwytz, to apprise their leaders of this important event.

Oct. 5.—We learn that the confederate Swiss did not enter Moudon till yesterday evening at five o'clock. Bachmann's right wing arrived yesterday night, before Yverdun. As to the upper country, it does not appear that any thing has happened on that side. They say that Pilichoor is in the Bernese army.

It is now eleven o'clock; still no news: we hope that General Bachmann will not reject the proclamation of Buonaparté; yet prudence requires that we should be prepared for all events. The *générale* is beat, and troops sent to the heights that command Lausanne. In the official report of the battle, the government say, that their force was only 14 or 1500 men, and that the patriots had 6,000. The defeat was complete, and the retreat in great disorder.

Basle, Oct. 4.—A report is just now in circulation, that the French general, Ney, who is to have the chief command of the troops collecting upon our frontiers, is arrived at Huninguen. A deputation is to be sent to him, to inquire into the object of his mission.

Strasburgh, Oct. 6.—The passage of troops to the frontiers of Helvetia by the two roads which lead to Basle, continues with great activity. Other troops from the department of Mont Tonnere are in full march for the same destination. The chiefs of the corps are charged to take care that their troops, after their arrival on the frontiers of Helvetia, do not meddle in the internal affairs of the country.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where all the former numbers may be had.